/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(Čãbõge^{w}õ half)

1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori Čãbõge^{w}õ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada$^{\sim}$

(Čębege^{w}õ half)

5. Bokodori Čera Čębege^{w}õ
6. Ki kujagoreð
7. Ki
8. O Čera Čębege^{w}õ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ
11. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada$^{\sim}$ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ bo'pokęje^{w}õ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārŏre čẹbegeʷō
14. Ārŏre čẹbegeʷō
15. Ẹwåguddu čereŏ kurigeŏ čẹbegeʷō
16. Ẹwåguddu bo'pokẹjeʷō čẹbegeʷō
17. Ẹwåguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaāge
(cåbōgeʷō half) 18. Ẹwåguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage čåbōgeʷō
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārŏre čåbōgeʷō baiaddadaᵃ (1)

●[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārŏre čåbōgeʷō
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore čoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārŏre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹwåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings
114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship
[539 system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with
829] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

• 128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

128 mother and child, older brother and younger brother, and father and son, which are seen as the models for three kinds of relationships which pervade Bororo culture. The opposition between culture and nature provides yet another model used by the Bororo to order their universe. Finally, the three kinship-based relationships and the culture-nature opposition provide a basis for examining the processes of adaptation of Bororo society as a whole to newly arising circumstances and demographic changes, and for studying a single individual as he passes through different stages of his life.

*601 these boundaries, but most of the time for genealogically
609 more distant kin they will switch to extragenealogical extensions and apply criteria different from those used in referring to genealogically close kinsmen.

● 128 The test of the rules, i.e., the reduction of kin types to their class foci will be found in the Appendix.

Chapter VI

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121 In discussing the sociology of kinship, a major problem is to determine the order in which the material should be presented. Relations within the family, the developmental cycle, the different social groups, marriage, residence--all of these, and still other subjects, can be meaningfully understood only in the light they throw on each other. To achieve this it would be necessary to make some kind of simultaneous total presentation. The requirements imposed by narrative preclude this. One is forced to choose, and to proceed through one door when many are open, always with doubt and a feeling that another way might have been more profitable. One tries to be as little repetitive as possible, yet one has to go back to the starting point over and over again in an effort to preserve some quality of unity.

128 One is confronted with still another pair of choices: whether to start with the general conceptual system and then pass to its realizations, or whether to start with particular social facts and to slowly construct out of them a picture of the whole. I will attempt to proceed in the latter manner, not because I think it is in any way better than the other, but I hope it will convey some of the processes that the ethnographer goes through in trying to make sense out of data.

The first matter to be discussed is the Bororo point of

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 585 We may begin by noting some common features in the Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new [782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar- [533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside [533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only [273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian [177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies--no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., [55] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more [773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

Birth and marriage have been regarded as private affairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaffirmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im- [124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk. [115] [128]

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

APPENDIX

TEST OF THE RULES

(REDUCTION OF KIN TYPES TO CLASS FOCI)

128
*601 In this chapter all of the kin types listed in Chapter II are reduced to their class foci. As the rules are not ordered any applicable equivalence rule is repeatedly applied until a focal type is reached. For sake of brevity I will label the equivalence rules as follows:

1. the skewing rule;
2. the merging rule;
3. the female parallel collateral rule;
4. the half-sibling rule;
5. the step rule;
6. the naming rule;
7. the marriage rule;
8. the neutralization rule.

*601

1. iyedaga

FF: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ iyedaga (by definition).

MF: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ iyedaga (by definition).

FFB: → FF (by the merging rule);
∴ iyedaga (by definition).

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[288] [171] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I 128 visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to 562 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in 123 Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under- [775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/162 cont./

773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that [121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated [262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided. [753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate [789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has, [121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either [113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo [128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source: see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1964) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

[p. 41-A]

/453 cont./

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

● 128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are
[192] sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/500 cont./ One day the men permitted
302 themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
[123] on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by it and called out, "aídye," "whizzer sticks," which at that time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

●128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, characterized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso. Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing. Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the evening we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail, another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree beside a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

554 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
[622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the planting on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
[648] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person, but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
[756] Clemente said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable position of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations. Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his trade.